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wandering, and enduring of songs; in 1913 it was found that Jim Pollard (see Plate 2) alone had a sufficiently accurate memory to act as announcer. As more and more men wished to perform, he found himself unable to keep the men in order, and asked me to join the choir as prompter. I held this position for the rest of the winter, taking a full part in every ceremony. Although the old customs had broken down enormously, this actual participation enabled me to understand the winter dances in a manner impossible from mere description. Later on, phonographic records were made of many of the songs used, thus preserving specimens of the fast disappearing music.

My intimate association with the Bella Coola enabled me to collect the material here presented which, having been verified and recorded, I have every reason to believe is correct. Nevertheless, it has one serious defect owing to the lack of assistance of my own. I found it almost impossible to differentiate certain sounds; in fact, I sometimes recorded the same word with different spellings. Consequently, I cannot guarantee the accuracy of the native terms used in this monograph. Moreover, I was entirely unable to analyze proper names, which would have been of great value in understanding the attributes of supernatural beings.

When writing up field notes, the realization of my own inefficiency in the recording of sounds tempted me to rely upon the spelling of Boas whenever possible. After considerable hesitation, I rejected this course for the following reason. Ethnological work falls into two categories, descriptive and comparative. This monograph is of the former type, based on actual work in the field and the inclusion of any material from another source would destroy its originality. I believe that a description work should consist exclusively of the author's own research, and I have adhered to this principle in spite of the advantages which would have followed the use of Boas' linguistic terms. For the same reason no attempt has been made to compare the customs and beliefs of the Bella Coola with those of other tribes, although this would undoubtedly have shed

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put his granddaughter into the ground beside her grandmother but it may all be for the best."[1]

There is no doubt that conditions of this nature assist the mourning relatives to keep up under their grief. This fact was emphasized by several Belle Coola, and in addition the writer was able to observe it on several occasions. They readily respond to suggestions of any kind and undoubtedly derive comfort from the laudatory comments of influential chiefs.

Speeches of this general nature are always delivered as the grave is being filled in. Sometimes this work is finished before all who wish to do so have expressed themselves, sometimes the remarks are so short that they are ended before all the earth has been thrown back. When the hole has been filled to ground level, it is stamped down and the surplus earth scattered out of sight among the bushes, no mound being thrown up.

Great care is always taken to prevent the return of the ghost. In addition to the weighting with stones already described, other methods are used before the funeral party leaves the cemetery. Sharp knives are usually laid flat over the grave and rocks piled on them for the way up from below. A further precaution is the setting upright of four stakes, one at each corner of the hole, and fastening ropes of cedar-bark between them along the east and west sides of the grave. The significance of this is not fully understood, except that the ghost cannot pass the strands. Four spruce saplings are cut and placed either between the grave and the village, or one on each side of the hole, their sharp needles form an effective barrier.

While these precautions are being taken, any clothing and utensils brought to the grave and not already consumed are thrown on the fire and allowed to burn brightly. The ashes

[1] [illegible] The writer was able to make many [illegible] to such speeches [illegible] like what he has said. Although lacking literal accuracy, the above may be considered essentially correct.

The details of this incident are sufficiently circumstantial to presuppose a historical event. Moreover, many of the old people had heard of the incident, another indication of the accuracy of the tradition. So far as could be judged, some of the crews must have reached Bella Coola about the year 1800.[1] It is said that the sailors sang the following song in a language unknown to any of its hearers. *Ajaiteuxe ajaiteuxe aiah aiteuxe yaiteuxe.*[2] None of the older men appear to have any idea of the meaning of these words, or even of the language to which they belong.

No event has had such profound effect on the lives of the Indians of British Columbia as the coming of the white man. It would be surprising if leading individuals, they did not feel that it had been foretold by prophets. The preceding story is the only Bella Coola example of such a belief, although tales of a similar kind are found widely throughout the province. In addition, there are a few traditions of prophecies fulfilled by the white man. One of these is that long, long ago, a shaman named Sun in the future the dead would return with the ability to make fire by rubbing the end of a small twig along a rough surface, and that, soon after, all the Indians would die. The Bella Coola consider that ourselves are referred to in the first part of the statement, and most feel very keenly

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

[illegible] passengers in *Nuikpem*'s canoe are a number [illegible] who replace the usual crew on this occasion. Each [illegible] one type of mask, painted with red diagonals, and [illegible] *sdaem*[a] projecting from the top.[b] After the en- [illegible] e guard, for some time upon the wonders, their [illegible] ewcomer, takes his place and his followers begin [illegible] 's ancient song, believed to be sung in *Nuikpem*'s [illegible] ore Bella Coola. The theme is:

[illegible] mortals, I am *Nanamuckhimut Nuikpem*, the [illegible] ukpem."

[illegible] ore starts, a figure rises from among the singers, [illegible] ask with heavy eye-brows[b] and carrying a light [illegible] ce feet in length, wound spirally with alternate [illegible] ed and unfired cedar-bark and crowned with a [illegible] d bark. Holding this in his hand he begins to [illegible], running back and forth a few steps at a time [illegible] e bowing of sticks, lifting his feet freely from the [illegible] bending back and forth in airy grace, all the while [illegible] and to and fro. There are no fixed steps, the only [illegible] ect be convey the impression of being light of foot [illegible] dancer; accordingly, the person selected for this [illegible] e with these qualifications. As he moves, *Auxlidzaem* [illegible] ns to the uninitiated that this is *Nanamuckhimut*, [illegible] ost rogue who accompanies *Nuikpem* and guards [illegible] At this point *Auxlidzaem*'s own song may or [illegible] sung. It never varies, and is believed to have been [illegible] n from dim antiquity. It himself must be the [illegible] dingly it can be sung only when the dancer has a [illegible] If this is the case, the marshals request him to [illegible], if necessary, teach him the exact words. It, [illegible] ed the fire, sings alone and unaccompanied, then [illegible] ject the song in unison with the bowing of their [illegible] *Auxlidzaem* himself dances, using, of course, the [illegible] s. At this juncture the uninitiated must be se- [illegible] ers are said.

[illegible] e model was purchased for the National Museum of Canada [illegible] e model was obtained for the National Museum of Canada

The last to exert himself is *Kwälkas Nu'kämpis*, an obstreperous individual, who always wants more presents than anyone else. When X announces that the beings above have taken their places, a carpenter brings forward the object covered with cedar-bark and painted with a design of *Komoxwälala*,* holds it above X's head, and then gives it to a herald who casts it into the fire. At the same time X throws on the flames some dyed cedar-bark, some undyed cedar-bark, a little eagle down, and some chicken grease, saying:

"Please *Komoxwälala*,* accept this offering and be present," and throws his hands up in the air as if casting some object upwards.

Still dancing, X calls out *hai'i* several times.

The painted representation and the cedar-bark are objects which *Komoxwälala* likes to receive; the chicken grease supplies the flame on which they ascend to him. The same procedure is repeated for the eight other brothers, with slight variations in the words addressed to each. To *Gaqaxwälälas*, for example, X says:

[534] *Original untelligible*
*Wuxälqaxälas calmness!** | *Flame [ceremonial name]*
is the place where he sits, | *is likewise said,*
*the recipient,**
Original blank
*Gaqaxwälälas.**

When the time comes to invite the hungry *Hiu-qulälas* a, an offering of food instead of bark is cast upon the flames. X continues to dance after the final gift, and presently a thud is heard on the roof while some *Sorbus*, chosen beforehand for the purpose, components a hidden blanket-effigy which the uninitiated know as the voice of the owl. Whether they be-

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*No Kwagiutl the offerings are made by a doctor who has this prerogative in connection with the same *Nakämkam* a.

*His other name is *Sa'qaxwa*, "The Reviver of Many Gifts."

*Kwälkas' duty is one of the longer manifestations, the service could not be classified.

*The designation, properly applied only to *Komoxwälala*, is often used for the brothers as well.

*These words are ritually sung, with control but reaching the end of each subdivision. A record was made of the words for the National Museum of Canada, record No. 2 in the singer, Jim Pollock.

* 575 I [illegible], and as [illegible] revolving cyclone at the same time.
* 796 *Awithlaxalaxs* does not fail to point out to the uninitiated: "That is the way to sing up above. Look at him! That is what he does in his own home."

* 575 If foreigners, guests for the potlatch, are in attendance,
* 796 *Awithlaxalaxs* adds that the supernatural beings are disappointed at having been called to here to it. Then the uninitiated are expelled, the masks burnt, and the *Galiaxiu* disperse.
536

A few further notes are necessary on this dance. If a potlatch is to be given after the *Initiation* season, the calling of these supernatural beings is sometimes reserved to the last *Initiation* dance, and any foreigners present, as uninitiated guests, are told that the beings have come for the ceremony. There is thus a superficial appearance of confusion between these *Initiation* persons and *Ceremonial Initiates*. It is nothing more than a ruse. Hence, since the nine brothers do not appear at the potlatch, and nothing is said to explain their absence, it is merely a subterfuge to increase the interest of the rite. Nor is any connection necessary; in fact, X usually chooses to call the two other *Initiates*, without the consecutive throwing of presents as he has. In this case X and the marshals consult and select the proper day for the beginning of the ceremony. On the
* 575 night preceding that chosen, the *Galiaxiu* are called to X's
* 796 house and one of the marshals announces that he can hear X's
187 call wanting to come to him. He answers simply:

"I am afraid."

The uninitiated are not expelled from X's house, as they have what is to take place. No ritual occurs on that evening, but one of X's friends remains constantly with him, as if to assist in any emergency. *Galiaxiu* are often met up the slopes of the neighbouring mountains with whistles which the uninitiated hear, and which lead them to believe that supernatural beings are in the vicinity.

● [284] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

NOTES

Introductory — Social Songs — Ko-ka Songs — Work Songs — Weaving Songs — Mourning Songs — Hunting Songs — Ritual Songs — Non-Communal Songs.

THE singing of songs is an essential part of all Bella Coola life, so that a study of them is important, entirely apart from their musical value. They may throw light on the beliefs of the performers, on the aims of the ceremonies, and, above all, give concrete instances of what the uninitiated are led to believe. This is particularly true of those used in festival dances, and for this reason all songs have been referred until this chapter in which they can be grouped together.

The texts of songs are difficult to obtain. Speeches of many are remembered, but few individuals are acquainted with the complete version. A phonograph was used to record the music, and it was soon found that very few people were qualified to sing into the machine. Some became confused and forgot the words, some began to laugh, and some lacked the pluck to attempt to sing. One elderly Kimsquit man, Jim Pollard, was found to be the best and most reliable singer, and he was used almost exclusively for phonographic work. Above the records are stamped with his musical technique. Others approached his ability, but he alone preserved an art which had been common in former days. Over one hundred songs were obtained with the assistance of this man.

The text was always obtained before a song was sung into the machine, thus assuring that the recorded version agreed with the written words. Even with this check, the writing down of songs is extremely difficult. Choral endings are widely employed, consisting of non-essential syllables inserted for musical effect. It was often impossible to record them in the

[illegible]

[illegible] ears, although they are obvious on the phonograph records. In singing, moreover, sounds, especially vowel sounds, are altered to fit the tune, a factor which accounts for further discrepancies between record and tune. A frequent device is reduplication, a word or group of words is repeated in singing when not called for in the spoken version. Finally one sound occurs in singing which is practically unknown in speaking, a roller *r* (recorded as *rr*) which gives a vibrating effect. Most choruses and some which songs consist of meaningless sounds, in such cases the tune alone is important and no attempt was made to record the syllables.

It was quite as difficult to obtain interpretations as to record texts. Songs which have been handed down for generations abound in archaic expressions which are meaningless even to the older men; some recently composed are full of metaphorical devices to conceal their real significance from the uninitiated. The result is consequently a series of words which, taken one at a time, convey no meaning. In many cases it was impossible to obtain literal translations, even with the willing assistance of younger men familiar with English. Every effort was made to get the general meaning, and it is felt that the object was scientifically achieved, though the transcriptions may not be sufficiently accurate for grammatical analysis.

Singers function at every ceremony. In fact, to become [illegible] depends so largely upon their efforts that they are always important members of the community. Some singers are created by the validation of an ancestral prerogative, others by having composed a suitable tune. The young man who has been so, calls one of the established musicians aside and hums a tune to him. If the tenor is favorably impressed, he may have [illegible] repeat it to his fellows, and if it wins their approval, the composer may be asked to join their ranks for the occasion on which it is to be used. Thus encouraged, the young man is likely to try again, or he may be invited to assist at some ceremony for which a large number of singers is required. If proficient, he is certain to win recognition in course of time,

emphatically that the songs which they used were the more than series of meaningless phrases, often in languages unknown to the hearers. It was possible to collect the following examples of this type:

(Song omitted)

(a) Recorded on wax No. 0 30, National Museum of Can. stages, Jan. [illegible]

It is believed that this song was composed by [illegible], but no one has any knowledge of when, or for what [illegible], it was made. It contains used is in Bella Coola many [illegible] ago, and the words and tune have since been remembered. [illegible] ya is said to be the word for man in a language spoken on the west side of Vancouver Island, so it is assumed that the theory must have come from that region.

The second example consists of a single word:

(Song omitted)

(a) Recorded on wax No. 0 30, National Museum of Can. stages, Jan. [illegible]

Hyalhus is in a language unintelligible to any the Bella Coola. This word and tune are supposed to [illegible] more ancient than the two examples.

Recent Songs

Recent ones are the only ones now current [illegible] the Bella Coola with even approximate completeness, and [illegible] of the songs used on them are still remembered by all. [illegible] number of dances took place during the period of investigation and the texts of all the songs used were collected, as well the music of the majority. This explains the [illegible] the examples in this section as compared to the preceding. Moreover, it is probable that recent songs, composed [illegible] by the singers, have always been more logical than the [illegible] employed by shamans to which the fiction of supernatural [illegible] has been preserved. In former times, recent songs [illegible] always

533*
756

533*
575*
996*
[124]*
[754]

Pass right middle finger close to the mouth between left index finger loop and left little finger loop.

Release lips, the right middle finger pronouncing the series of strings just released from running towards the left hand.

FIG. 16. "Akkatsak, an Old Woman."

Grip teeth string with tips of right thumb and index finger, and release teeth.

Return to normal position.

Gently release right middle finger, at the same time extending the loop held between tips of right thumb and index finger, by inserting in this loop all the fingers of the right hand. By gently parting the hands, the figure in the middle, which represents the old woman, can be made to travel towards the left hand. The movement is sometimes improved by extending the left index finger loop by inserting in it the left thumb, and separating these two digits (Figure 16). As the figure is moving, the manipulator sings:[2]

O ammon-inuk	*pukatit nikiro?*
Where are you going	old woman?

The "old woman" replies:

nilaqarpun-di	*ukukivilaqpaan-nho*
I am going to suck fruit	at the bottom home[3]

The interrogator continues:

Ak-tajut	*tunuliaqtivin*	*ilumunaqtar*
So needed	but you fall down [as you go]	towards Kivitoo Inlet?

Release left little finger and the "old woman" falls.

XIII. A TOAD

Bulla Cradle opening.

Pass middle, ring, and little fingers of each hand into index finger loops from proximal side and hook down the radial index finger string.

Recorded as song VII 0 (4), National Museum of Canada, singer, Joe Pahwa [126]

[2]The tense further downstream.

[3]This seems to be the usual version of the song, although when it was recorded on the phonograph the singer insisted on giving a more elaborate third part consisting of:

Ak-tunuliqtar	*ukuk nikapiq*	*tunuliqtunarua*	*ilumunaqtarnho*
	old woman		

524 silver side of distal silver thumb string, back down this string through thumb loops.

Insert left index finger into left thumb loops from distal side, passing to ulnar side of the two distal radial index finger strings, and to radial side of proximal radial thumb string; hand index finger upwards and away from manipulator, taking up this proximal radial thumb string on distal aspect of index finger.

Enlarge left thumb and extend.

There is now a diamond-shaped figure of two strands near the left hand; pass left thumb into this diamond away from manipulator and take up in its back the two strings forming the right lower side of the diamond.

Insert left index finger, with its loop, into left thumb loops from proximal side.

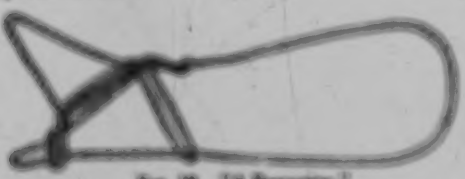

Fig. 59. "A Porcupine."

With tips of right thumb and index finger lift loop from left index finger, drawing this loop through left thumb loops.

Release left thumb and index finger.

Replace loop held between tips of right thumb and index finger on left thumb, without twisting.

Release right thumb and little finger.

Extend right middle finger loop by passing into it, from proximal side, all the digits of the right hand.

[525] Extend and the porcupine appears (Figure 59). Its head is here downwards near the left hand, and its tail in the loop around the right radial thumb string.

The manipulator sings:[1]

Ayaxcikaxa-ay Don't hurry away,	nayaxcikaxit go easily!	ulkaxcmaxa-ina when you go	alkaxiya-ina to your home,

alkaxiyaxa
O porcupine!

CAT, OR BOBCAT'S HEAD

Opening A with middle fingers.

Insert thumbs into middle finger loops from proximal side and transfer these loops to thumbs, keeping them distal, and at the same time releasing middle fingers.

[526] [196] [1] Recorded as song VII D 10b, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pollard. It has reference to a fantastic creature.

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With left index, middle, ring, and little fingers hook down from proximal side the right silver little finger string.
Release right little finger.
With right little finger hook down right silver thumb string.
Release right thumb.
With right index finger hook down left radial thumb string.
Release left thumb.
By extending gently the figure appears. The crooked figure near the left hand represents the cripple, the upright figure near the right hand with projecting canine represents a man with umbilical hernia (Figure 21).
The following dialogue in song accompanies this figure:*
The man with hernia sings:

hoi, oei, oei,	*ahkhaus*	*thwishkus!*
Hoi! Hoi! Hoi!	Hurry up,	you cripple.**

The cripple answers:

thumtsquelus	*thwishkus!*	
Don't say that	** you man with umbilical hernia.	*oei, oei, oei* Hoi! Hoi! Hoi!

XVIII. THE *Snang*

Bella Coola opposing.
Pass middle, ring, and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side, and hook down radial index finger string.
With thumbs take up radial index finger string from proximal side, keeping this string dorsal.
Bring hands together; insert left thumb into right dorsal thumb and index finger loop from proximal side; lift this loop from thumb, but not from the index finger, without extending.
Insert right thumb into left middle thumb and index finger loop from proximal side and lift this loop from left thumb, but not from index finger.
Extend.
There are now two loops on each thumb and one on each index finger.
Pass middle fingers into loops hooked down by ring and little fingers from proximal side.
Each loop hooked down by the middle, ring, and little fingers is crossed by the proximal silver thumb string; with backs of middle fingers take up this string where it crosses the hooked down loop.
Pass middle fingers, still carrying on their backs the string just picked up, through index finger loops from proximal side, and into both thumb loops from distal side.

*Recorded as sung VII D 4a, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pollard. [126 195]
**The term indicates that a somewhat cripple is indicated.

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Release index fingers; the index finger loop is now held on the backs of the middle fingers.

Lift distal thumb loop from thumbs; this loop is now held on backs of middle fingers.

Pass index fingers into the close loops hooked down on middle fingers from proximal side.

Pass index fingers distal to radial thumb string, and middle fingers proximal to radial thumb string, clutching this string between tips of fingers; bend fingers upwards and away from manipulator, taking up this string on tips of index fingers.

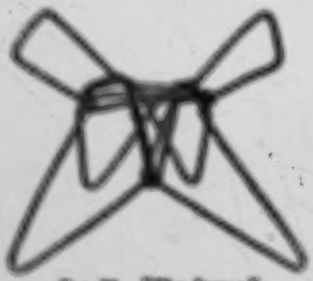

Fig. 22. "The *tsung*."

Release middle fingers.

Release thumbs.

Gently extend.

This shows the *tsung*; with thumbs gently depress the two parallel loops in the centre and the eyes become evident (Figure 22).

The manipulator sings:[1]

Nuyaiyáit-kamy	*sacrificial*	*supernatural paraphernalia.*
Known your symbolic,[2]	it is too dangerous,	O, dreaded and powerful one!

Pass thumbs from distal side into the loops hooked down on ring and little fingers.

Bend index fingers downwards and away from manipulator, and upwards towards manipulator through the loop hooked down on ring and little fingers, and tip to tip with thumbs, releasing thumbs when complete.

Fig. 23. "Raven's Hammer."

Pass thumbs into distal index finger loops from proximal side and transfer each loop to its respective thumb.

Release index fingers.

This shows the *tsung* with eyeballs reversed, appearing as a hammer (Figure 23).[3]

As the figure appears the manipulator sings:

Saiyaxmas	*Qaax*	*she was struck*
The hammer of	Raven	long, long ago.

[1] The song accompanying the whole figure was recorded as song VII D 136, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pollard.

[2] The taboo is the belief that the *tsung* projects death-dealing rays from its eye.

[3] No explanation is offered for the association between a *tsung* and Raven's hammer.

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Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

MATERIA MEDICA OF THE BELLA COOLA AND NEIGHBOURING TRIBES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

By Harlan I. Smith

INTRODUCTION

This paper describes the materia medica of four tribes of British Columbia, the Bella Coola of Bella Coola valley, the Gitksan of Skeena river, the Carrier who live in the territory behind both of these tribes, and the Sekani of the headwaters of Peace river. Among the Bella Coola the medicines are largely family possessions known to a few individuals only, so that two families may have different remedies for the same specific complaint; but this is not the case among the other tribes. Everywhere magical practices enter largely into the treatment of disease, but are not touched upon in this report. It was impossible for the Indians to diagnose many of their maladies, so that the identifications given here are in many cases problematical.

Most of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1920-22, by Joshua Moody, apparently a full-blood Bella Coola Indian, born about 1868. As he did not speak English he gave the data in Chinook jargon, which has been interpreted and arranged in logical order. Joshua is an Indian scientist with great knowledge of the local plants and animals. He remembers when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man living in Bella Coola valley, and when the inhabitants saw only one other white man every year or two. Consequently he can recall the old Bella Coola material culture before it was much affected by European ideas.

Some of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1922-23 by the late Captain Schooner, also, apparently, a full-blood, born about 1848, who used the Chinook jargon. Alec Davis, Alexander Clahoose, Louie Hall, and other Bella Coola Indians likewise gave information and corroboration.

Most of the information relating to the Southern Carrier Indians of Chezzetko was secured during 1920-1922 from Charlie West, alias Pretty Charlie or Handsome Charlie, a native of that place, born about 1871. Charlie used the peculiar form of broken or pidgeon English commonly employed for communication between the whites and the Carrier and Chilcotin Indians of this region.

The information about the Sekani and the Northern Carriers of Hagwilget is from stray field notes kindly supplied by Mr. D. Jenness.

The information relating to the Gitksan was secured in 1925-26 from the late John Fowler and Abraham Fowler of Kitwanga, Luke Fowler and Bob Robinson of Hazelton, with additions and corroboration from a few others, all old Gitksan Indians, apparently full-blood. The information was secured mainly in English, although Abraham Fowler used also the Chinook jargon.

The method the writer employed was to submit specimens of the plants to his informants and question them concerning all their uses. Of the information thus obtained only the medicinal portion has been presented here. The plants were later identified by Mr. M. O. Malte, of the National Museum, Ottawa.